FREE SOCIETY

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An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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GERMINAL.

GERMINAL! The Field of Mars is ploughing,
And hard the steel that cuts, and hot the breath
Of the great Oxen, straining flanks and bowing
Beneath his good who guides the share of Death.

GERMINAL! The dragon's teeth are sowing,
And stern and white the sower flings the seed;
He shall not gather tho' full swift the growing,
Straight in Death's furrow treads and does not heed.

GERMINAL! The helmet heads are springing
Far up the Field of Mars in gleaming files;
With wild war notes the bursting earth is ringing!
Within his grave the sower sleeps and smiles.

—Voltairine de Cleyre.

CHURCHES DEGRADE WOMEN.

"Let your women *keep silence* in the churches; for it is *not permitted* unto them to speak; but they are *commanded* to be *under obedience*, as also saith the law. And *if they will learn anything*, let them ask their husbands at home; for *it is a shame* for women to speak in the church."—I Corinthians 14: 34. (Italics mine.)

It is a mystery, as mysterious as ghosts—holy or otherwise—that intelligent women should submit to this "keep silence"—"not permitted"—"commanded"—under obedience"—"*if* they will learn *anything*"—"it is a shame," etc., of Paul, the woman hater, the incomplete man, probably not knowing woman, and yet daring to judge the sex. The very idea of a woman wishing to learn anything, was the grossest impudence according to Paul—"Saint Paul."

Freedom cannot possibly be attained so long as women, the mothers of the next generation, attend churches and listen to and accept such teachings as Paul's. Woman is the noblest and most important part of humanity; the most important because, altho' it is claimed that the "holy ghost" can accomplish the male part of propagation, it is not suggested even in the Bible that *it* or *he* can carry out the maternal work of race reproduction. Women must therefore be free before they can bear and rear free children. We are not sufficiently learned to give an opinion as to the freedom or compulsion of *women* who bear children to holy ghosts. The *plural* is used because about twenty similar births to that of Jesus are recorded before A. D. 1.

The illogical Paul, adored by the clergy, is also reported as saying:

"For I would that all men were even as I myself. But every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that. I say therefore to the unmarried and widows. It is good for them if they abide even as I. But if they cannot contain, let them marry; for it is better to marry than to burn."—I Corinthians 7: 7, 8, 9.

From this the conclusion might be drawn that Paul was impotent, for this God that Paul worshipped and preached is said to have "created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth." This command must have applied to Paul, if it did to any one. Was his impotency "the thorn in the flesh" about which he "besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me"? So this little man—the great saint—like all the parsons since his day, "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men" in direct opposition to the teachings of the ghost they sometimes call "holy," "God," "Father," "Son," "Love," "Jealousy," "the Lamb of God," "the Lion of the tribe of Judah," and some forty other absurd and contradictory aliases, who commanded men and women to be fruitful and multiply, was not content with his own disregard of this law of procreation, but he must take upon himself to instruct others to do anything short of burning rather than carry out this important and almost imperative function of nature.

This same Paul said at another time, "Let us not therefore judge one another," and "who art thou that judged another." (Romans 14 c.) This is rich, indeed, after his judgment of women. This judge and jury, complainant and defendant all in one—who is as great a mystery as the "Trinity"—in giving his command and law to the wives who dared to wish to "learn anything" to ask their husbands at home, failed to inform the virgins and widows how to "learn anything." Probably the priests of his day were to his knowledge ministering unto their wants whether their names were Mary or Ruth.

The best sign of the times is without doubt the ever increasing numbers who are freeing themselves from church domination. The women who cast off this yoke of superstition are powerful factors for freedom, the hope, the "unknown God" of the Athenians.

KINGHORN-JONES.

SOME MORE OBSERVATIONS.

I welcome the readiness of our comrades to raise a fund for the purpose of importing a speaker from England, for it is a sign of revived energy, although I am convinced that naught will come of it. I need not assure the comrades that my whole heart is in the American movement and that I would give much to see it prosper, yet I must take issue with the proposed importation of a speaker from England; and this not because of a *lack* of international feeling, but because of a preponderance of it. For that reason I would not like the movement of one country to grow at the expense of another; and that would certainly be the case should you succeed in getting Comrade Turner over. He is the only able speaker in England at the present time, and even he cannot do much straight Anarchist propaganda, because his whole time is taken up with the Trades-Union movement. Mark you, I do not undervalue the good he is doing in his present position, but I only wish to show that England is even more in need of speakers than America and that to take away John Turner would in my opinion be a very uncomradely act, to say the least. Besides, it is idle to talk about importing Comrade Turner: *he cannot nor will he go to America*, and if he ever does go, it will be in an independent way. This I can say with full authority. Since there are no other comrades in England capable of carrying on effective work in America (for we must not forget that to make a successful tour, one must not only be a good speaker, but also have a reputation as well, otherwise one may be an Antony and yet not draw a crowd in our "blessed land"), why not turn to domestic goods?

Comrade Morton is struggling hard to reach 'Frisco, and were it not for liberal assistance of a few individuals, and James' wonderful ability to feast on the "luxury" of a dish of Boston baked beans and two slices of bread a day, he might never have gotten as far as he did. Were our comrades so eager to have paid speakers in the field, why did they not help him? There is Voltairine de Cleyre who was ready to make a tour last spring, urged by Comrades Nold and Burmin who did there utmost to raise money for the purpose, and being unsuccessful in their efforts, the idea of her tour abandoned. Where were these comrades then? Comrade Southworth, a newly acquired power in our movement, an intellectual, highly cultured and brilliant speaker, who told me he would start out on the rout at once, if he could but have $6 per week. Why not invite him to tour? Are we Anarchists going to adopt the old and foolish notion that "prophets are seldom recognized in their own land," a notion that has driven many able men and women from the cradle of their birth to struggle and starve in the cold of strange lands, until they made a fame for themselves? Let me call your attention to Heine, Boerne, and scores of others who hated their people because of the cruel indifference they met with from their side. Let us Anarchists not be guilty of gross neglect of those in our own midst, because we can only appreciate the talents of comrades in other countries when we have helped to develop the abilities of those in our own ranks. In fact, how can those who are so anxious to import a speaker, expect that one would trust their promises, seeing how little they have done in aid of those who are right at their next door.

As to the idea of employing a speaker and paying him a fixed salary, I think this a thing for each one to decide for himself. I for one would never consent to make a business of lecturing. It seems to me that the work of a true propagandist cannot be paid; that the very thought of being paid for what one says, must rob one of the enthusiasm and devotion for our cause. I claim that one can only give the best of one's self when actuated by love to the thing one gives, out of one's innermost desire to be useful, to oppose that which one considers wrong, and such a product of one's thoughts, nerves, blood, and the whole make-up, is above any remuneration. I am aware that a propagandist cannot live on ideals, yet if the comrades would only extend more of the precious articles, so rarely found, *hospitality* and *solidarity*, and through voluntary contributions pay railway fares, one could easily tour from five to six months in the year, and that is more than any one ought to do, if he really is desirous to serve the cause.

And then, too, no comrade with individuality and sensitiveness would consent to become a wage slave of one's own kind. It is bad enough to have the enemy as a boss, tyrant and dictator, but I shudder when I think of having comrades as such; and I am sorry to say that we have already too many among us who perform the job of bosses and invaders to perfection.

* * *

What has happened to my friend Willlie Holmes? He of all the people in the world to advocate Anarchistic judges and lawyers,—he whose whole nature would shrink from the thought of being employed as such himself to go so far as to cite a case of a man remaining an Anarchist, although he had become a proprietor of a house of prostitution! What is up? Has Willie's logic forsaken him? If, as an Anarchist, one may be a judge, juror and lawyer, why not a policeman, sheriff, hangman, spy, prostitute, politician, in fact, anything? And if so, why combat the capitalist regime, why oppose Vanderbilt, Spreckels, Rockefeller, Cecil Rhodes? What an absurd thing to say that if an Anarchist cannot consistently be a judge, he cannot be a wage slave! Holmes seems to forget that in one case no choice is left, in the other one can either remain true to himself or get a comfortable life at the expense of his fellow men and his real self, which is even worse.

I understand Anarchy to mean the negation of all forms of authority, invasion and robbery; an Anarhist, therefore, to be one who abhors all existing wrongs, because under no circumstances would he voluntarily consent to do the same. If I was mistaken, then I never knew the meaning of Anarchism. But I claim to understand Anarchy, and I am sure Holmes does, yet it seems his logic failed him and so leaped from the sublime to the ridculous, which is but one step. Let us hope he will soon come back to the old heights. Really, I cannot understand the arguments of Holmes, unless he means the so-called Individualists when he speaks of Anarchist judges. If this is the case, I fully agree with him. Since they believe in private property, they must also believe in a force to protect their property; thus they are perfectly justified in becoming judges, lawyers and policemen. And outside of their opposition to compulsion, it must be borne in mind that the Individualists believe in a voluntary police. (Who laughs??) I for one could never see the logic of their claim to the term "Anarchists." I mean from a theoretical standpoint; for their practices differ as much from their theory as a blizzard from a warm summer breeze. Their actions are humane, warm-blooded, kind, noble, very sympathetic and considerate; but no sooner do they leave the realm of life and wander into their theory than they become cold, calculating, bloodless, mere automatic machines. Such beings can be "Anarchistic judges," or anything you please, but never one whose heart throbs for mankind, and who is so full of the sentiment of solidarity that the very idea of pain or sorrow reflects upon his whole being.

Paris, France. EMMA GOLDMAN.

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

Our German contemporary, the Freiheit, voices my sentiment when it says: "It will be people like Sipido who will some day be the storm-birds of the Revolution and shoot breaches on steep heights. Their names will be engraved in the walls of the Pantheon temple in the time to come; but wretches like the prince of Wales will be recorded in history as the malefactors of mankind."

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An exchange says: "The militia guarding the Croton Dam costs the State of New York $1750 per day, which will be trebled as soon as the 7th Regiment is called out. According to the reckoning of the Italian consul, the demands of the strikers amounts to but $15 per day. As the strikers do not wish to submit to a levy of two cents per day for medical treatment, the total demands would amount to $29 per day. In order to save this amount to the contractors, the State will spend several thousand dollars per day."

Government is established for the protection of the weak, you know.

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A woman writes in the daily Examiner albeit the woman suffrage question, and says among other things: "Personally, I confess I care nothing for the ballot, because it seems to me the most ineffectual of means toward a desired end. I cannot see that the hard lot of the poor laboring man of America is materially improved by his being allowed to vote at general elections. The reins of power are, naturally and inevitably in the hands of the millionaires, and must stay there as long as we have any millionaires—that is, untill the end of the present imperfect state of things, spiritual and social. If I were a poor American man, as I am a poor American woman, I think I would not leave my plow to go to the polls. The plow would do me some good; the polls would do me no good at all, and the whole thing is too sad and cruel a mockery. Very likely, women are quite as well off, in a practical sense, without the ballot as they would be with it. A political right which is manifestly incapable of helping men would not be likely to help women."

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Thomas Jefferson had less confidence in government than our present day reformers. He said: "Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question."

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AUTHORITY.

"Mankind needs authority," says a writer on social questions. If that be true, why all this "fuss and feathers" about freedom? If we need authority, freedom will be a curse to us, and all the revolts of man against the hateful dominancy of priest, prince, master and monopolist have been struggles of fools who did not know when they were well off, and who by their desperate determination to enlarge their boundaries have been flying "in the face of Providence!"

Shall we say aught in condemnation of the inquisition, if we contend for the authority of parents over children, of man over woman or woman over man, of the educated (?) over the illiterate, of the strong over the weak, of the rich over the poor, of the wise (?) over the foolish?

What twist of natural condition caused the wisdom of the world to fall so superabundantly upon one portion of the people and so scantily upon the other that the former must bear a double burden of responsibility?—and how jauntily it carries it!

If mankind needs authority, it is because mankind is so ignorant that self-destruction is unavoidable without outside control; but is part of the ignorant mass competent to exercise the required control? What an absurdity!

A human being who comprehends the delicacy and magnitude of the charge of deciding what is best for others, what will insure to them their fulness of life, I say, he who comprehends all this and does not shrink from being the custodian of the awful trust, is to egotistical to be trusted. His ego is his world, and he will be biased, unconsciously, perhaps, in rare instances, by what he conceives to be best for himself; the welfare of the populace will take second place in his thoughts.

Authority? No! NO!

Authority is impossible without submission, and submission is slavery. If slavery is essential to society, why have arisen these petty fault findings with its diverse garbs?

The outcome of slavery is ever the same, and it is degradation. Let us not forget that no part of society can keep its skirts clear of the contamination, for, "Whoever degrades another degrades me; whatever is said or done returns at last to me."—Viroqua Daniels.

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MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST.*

Nothing better indicates the rapid strides being made towards more liberal social conditions than the fact that the world is coming more and more to listen even with a friendly ear to the most daring political and economic speculations. The chapters which make up Kropotkin's volume first appeared in the Atlantic Monthly, which is at once the best of American magazines curiously also acceptable in the cloisters of the conventional. For long scholars have done all that scholarship could do to mislead the general public into a belief that Anarchism was murder rather than peace, an explosion of barbaric passion rather than a peace-offering to a social order at war with itself. Proudhon, pronouncing property robbery, was himself a robber. The propaganda of Anarchism was the propaganda of the torch. But the scholars have been compelled finally to make concessions and to present an approximate picture of a long disfigured truth. We have at last gained so much. The Anarchist propositions are now paid the tribute of philosophy. Anarchism once belonged to the prison. Now it has entered the study. It mothers order and gives human society back to the heart

Kropotkin writes in the philosophic temper, but all his statistics are modified by considerations of the human. He does not apologize or compromise. Yet he is never finical. He rests his case with the conscience. Reciting his own experience he relies upon the faithfulness of the picture for his effect. He does not moralize. The book is a confession and an appeal; yet its author is never on his knees and never raises a club. His experiences have been typical. They started in an environment almost to the last degree removed from freedom and they finish under conditions perhaps the most liberal conceived under modern forms of rulership. But his eyes are forward. Kropotkin is the most amiable of men, feared only by people who have not met him, and only thought to be violent by those who dread change even if it bring blessings in its train. Kropotkin removes the average prejudice from its contemplation of Chicago history to the universalized precepts of the cult. For in a sense the Anarchist movement is a cult. Men are Anarchists to a degree they do not realize. The name has come to mean so much, the thing so little. But the Anarchist, conscious or unconscous, is a peace man, whose sole sentiment is centered upon the loving concept of an arrived social justice. The anti-social life of the era is the life of exploitation. Exploitation is disorder. It violates the compact of humanity whether written in constitutions or implied, or whether simply used as a measure of daily life. Kropotkin is antiseptic. He has style and equipoise. He has picture and moral. Yet he never preaches lessons or practices finesse in his art or fixes his argument upon superficial errata in philosophy. A conventional newspaper paid Kropotkin and Reclus a fine tribute when it expressed a fear that they might seek asylum in America, where their "winning personality would prevail too easily and potently" to mislead the general conviction out of accepted political and economic canons.—Conservator.

* Memoirs of a Revolutionist. By Peter Kropotkin. Boston: Houhton, Mifflin & Co.

SQUIBS.

Comrade Austin was altogether wrong in supposing that I intended what I said about Voltairine de Cleyre as either a fling, or unkind. The question of a suitable person to keep "on the stump" in the interest of the movement represented by Free Society and Discontent in the United States was under discussion, and I could see no harm in expressing my disapproval of Voltairine as freely as Comrade Holmes had expressed his approval. She does not represent the same movement that Free Society does. Her view of life is quite different from that of most of the writers for our papers. In saying this I am not condemning her. She has a perfect right to her views, and her life speaks for itself; but all that does not qualify her to take and keep the platform for a movement that has received much of its inspiration from papers she considered unworthy of articles from her pen. In fact, it disqualifies her, for how can she represent the things she has refused to assist and co-operate with? Mark you, I say this not in bitterness or unkindness, but as a matter of candid discussion.

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To Brukk let me say: I only asked how would Victor Southworth do? If he is not well enough grounded in the philosophy, let him hammer away in Denver until he becomes better acquainted with it. It seems to me he bears almost exclusively on the ethical side of the question while the economic side is quite as important.

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It is amusing to see comrade Lizzie Holmes commenting on how Jesus would run a paper, saying that Jesus stole roasting ears and probably built a fire and roasted them on a Sabbath. Now, as a matter of fact, there is no such probability. In the first place it has not been proven that such a historic character as Jesus Christ ever existed. In the second place, corn is a strictly American product, and was not known except to American Indians until after the beginning of white settlements along the Atlantic sea-board. It's all right to guess, I reckon, but that was a poor guess, Lizzie, so guess aagain.

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Comrade W. W. Gordak, poet, had the misfortune to get his leg broken in three places, on March 3. As his pain abates, and before he can get out, he proposes to write a pamphlet and put "all the deviltry, sarcasm, wit and genious of which I am capable" into it, he says. It is to be entitled "When Might is Blight." He has written a poem entitled "The Liar," which "deals with the men who prefer the low pleasure of opulent treachery to the high pleasure of steadfast loyalty to the truth." Tucker will publish this poem and all who purchase it will help our comrade in his bad luck as well as get their money's worth.

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The editor of the New York Evening Journal recently wrote up the Coeur d'Alene affair, and when he got down to talking to the union men, he said:

If you think it means more money to you, you will vote for McKinley. If you are a Republican you will vote for McKinley and not know or care why.

Should you vote for a Democrat, you might get another idiot like Cleveland sending federal troops to Chicago against the governor's protest.

Yet he favors voting, although there is no choice to make, according to the Journal's editor. He accuses the union men of not thinking, and of being sold out by their leaders, in both of which he is right.

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A. I. thinks that comrades Holmes, Brukk and myself encourage inconsistency and cowardice. Far from it. For myself I only try to *discourage* the inconsistency of mapping out paths for others to follow, and to encourage a fearless campaign against the ideas of government and control, not against men or classes as our class-conscious Socialist friends do. Nor is my attitude toward consistency "mincing." It is, as I often state: "Let every one reduce the inconsistency in his or her own life to the minimum, and *thus* encourage others to be consistent," instead of upbraiding for their opinions or methods.

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Let us drop this none-sensical wrangle over consistency, and have a symposium, as Comrade Holmes proposes, on the question of methods and tactics. For what is accomplished by isolation in our work, or by forming little groups of the faithful and milling round and round like a heard of cattle in a storm, touching no one but each other? Can't we devise some means of bringing our ideas before a larger number of those

who know not our doctrine? By all means let's have the symposium.

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How came the United States district attorney to put up two bits toward the expenses of Emma Goldman's meetings at the time he was prosecuting The Firebrand case, asks some inquisitive one. Well, how came the jailor to let Comrade Pope visit with Emma all day down town, without bonds or attendant? I struck the prosecutor, and as he is appointed at Washington he had no political favors to ask any one, so put it up to make us think he was not mad at us, probably. The jailor let Pope go because he thought he would come back, and, feeling kindly to the old man wanted to show him a favor. Men in power are still men, and often they are susceptible to sentiment when approached in such manner as to awaken it. Least ways our trial brought me to that conclusion. HENRY ADDIS.

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THINGS AND THOUGHTS.

How can we be represented in the Anarchist congress, and how can we support the same best? These are questions which deserve our closest attention. If our means were not limited, it would be an easy matter to send one or more delegates, as we have able champions of Anarchism in our ranks; but the means must be considered first.

I agree with Emma Goldman's statement that Free Society (formerly The Firebrand) is the pioneer of Anarchism to the English speaking population. My personal knowledge concerning the struggle of this paper proves to me that the financial means at the command of the revolutionary forces in this country are very small, and the expenses to be met by sending a delegate to Paris would partly deprive the struggling paper of some of its support, and may thereby injure the so much needed propag nda.

Emma Goldman is in Paris at present, and I think she is about as well acquainted with the movement in this country and the conditions of the toiling mass as any one. Now, if all those having the ability, offered suggestions and made reports regarding the progress of our movement as well as the conditions in the respective portions of the country sent them to Emma, we could be assured of representation before the congress, and could send material help to her as well as to Free Society, enabling it to be increased to an eight paged weekly, and to give a detailed account of the congress, which would be an encouraging help in the propaganda for the English speaking element.

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I do not intend to enter into the contest regarding the right or wrong of following the parasitic profession of a lawyer; but I should like to make a few remarks regarding B. F. Brukk's statement concerning herself and the marriage question. She says: "The woman or man who possess the requisite intellect to recognize her or his own rights, need have no fear of marriage. It is only the 'hoe' woman or man we tremble for."

Now, why do we tremble for the "hoe" woman or man? Because marriage is something good? I think not. We tremble because we know that marriage—personal ownership in human flesh—is bad in itself, it is condemnable. A shrewd man can inflict the greatest mental pain upon *his* wife with impunity, be she ever so intelligent, as lo g as he observes the existing laws and customs, and the courts will not grant her a divorce on the ground that she does not love the man or because he tortures her mentally. Now, if she enters "the legal yoke of matrimony," even voluntarily, does that not prove that she sanctions the institution of marriage? But if she does not marry she is consistent and demonstrates her protest against existing customs and prejudices; it is "propaganda by deed" and has more influence upon others than a hundred scientifically delivered lectures by one who still countenances legalized slavery—"husband" or "wife."

Los Angeles, Calif. H. EUGSTER.

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QUESTIONABLE TACTICS.

The supply of food for "serious thought" will certainly not run short as long as Wm. Holmes continues to make a bad matter worse, as he has not failed to do from the first advocacy of Anarchist judges down to his latest "A Question of Tactics." The fact that I am a warm friend of Comrade Holmes, shall not deter me from mercilessly pointing out what I think is the fallacy of his views as regards methods of propaganda, that are *nothing more* than *mental prostitution*.

What is the aim of Anarchist propaganda? Is it not educational? Does not the real progress and vitality of the lofty ideal of Anarchy depend entirely upon the growth and development of human intelligence and sympathy? As a powerful incentive to that development, the best thing I know, is to exhibit to your fellow men *beautiful actions* as well as beautiful theories. There are many fine and splendid theories that are Greek to the average person, because totally unacquainted with the meaning of certain words and the construction of sentences. On the other hand, the most ignorant of men will pay tribute to a fine and noble action. Then, how necessary it is for an Anarchist to square his life as consistently as possible with the theory he advocates.

The physical slavery that holds the useful class in bondage, is the direct result of mental prostitution. The greatest curse that our principles must contend against, is that the man or woman of high intelligence who is *not* eager to sell his or her mental services for gold or worldly influence, is the *exception* and not the rule.

I admit that the "chief busines of Anarchists is to strengthen the movement, and that whatever conduces to that end, is just and right," but as to the things most conducive to that end, I would probably differ from Comrades Addis and Holmes. For instance, a small matter mentioned by Addis in "Methods and Tactics," that article so highly commended by Holmes as "food for thought." I want to ask just *what services* the politicians and district attorney of Portland, Oregon, required of Henry Addis in return for the $35 they paid him towards defraying the expenses of an Anarchist meeting? I do not wish to be personal, but when anything is recommended as "food" for mental digestion, I must first inspect its ingredients. And when those political prostitutes of Portland or any other city levy on a man for his services to help them out in a hotly contested election, they take from that man and from the cause of human liberty that which gold cannot replace. How shall it profit us to "levy on the enemy for funds," when they in turn exact from us that which our noblest teachers have held priceless?

Answer friend Holmes; or have you taken to your heart the Christian maxim, that the Godly use of the dollar justifies its questionable acquisition? That principle has done more to kill Christianity than reason and logic. Let Anarchists beware of warming this viper in their bosoms. The beauty of this principle, carried to its logical sequence, was illustrated by a devout in our vicinity. A young friend of ours, a cr pple with but one leg, was trying to make an independent living, selling fruit trees for our home nursery. One night he lodged at thi good Christian broth r's home; the deacon had family prayers, he did not forget to appeal to the throne of grace for the cripple. In the morning it was the same; but he refused to take a bill of trees, or accept trees for the boy's night lodging, as was universally done by the people when they made any charges; on the contrary, he charged our friend three times the amount that was customarily charged for a night's lodging. "All right," said independent Will, flinging the money on the table, "here's the amount; I won it on a horse race and don't give a damn for a few cents that came that easy." "Very well," answered this Christian philosopher, "I will give it to the Lord; our church needs a new stove, I will pay it on that." Thus did the good brother aid the propaganda for Christ by robbing a cripple, honest in his view that the end justified the means. Truly, does the contemplation of such methods furnish "food for serious thought," when there are earnest champions for such methods to be used in Anarchist propaganda?

If it were possible for the Anarchists to grasp the weapons of the enemy, namely, "cunning and craft, and power and unlimited wealth." I ask in all candor, have the advocates of these measures, measured the depths of moral degradation in which men must wallow before those weapons are in their hands? More vital yet is the question, Is it any ways certain, once having those weapons in their possession, that they would use them for aught else but their personal advantage? *No.* For this reason: those traits of character that would enable a man, or men, to acquire cunning, craft, power and unlimited wealth, would make it morally impossible for them to be otherwise than indifferent to the miserable conditions of their fellows.

Some months ago a comrade wrote in regard to a man of some position and influence—a radical at heart saying, "Mr. —— will probably do something for the propaganda *now*, as he is *out* of politics." Vain hope, said gentlemen being "in" again. Let us not forget this *fact*, the men and women who first drew upon the horizon of human thought the outline of the grandest conceptions of liberty that has ever dawned upon the world, were absolutely true to that conception for the sake of those principles, wealth, power, social influence and even life, were flung to the four winds of heaven.

Are we not certain that this course on the part of the "masters," alone saved the ideal of liberty from complete effacement from the minds of men? Today it is true that the movement is sustained by the same spirit. The men and women who contribute financially to the cause, or arrange meetings, are poor, are working people, have no position in society, and care for none and are utterly indifferent to those who ostracise them on account of their views. The men and women capable of carrying the war into the enemy's country, that is, of publicly expounding the basic principles of liberty, freely expend the wealth of their minds for the benefit of all, they do not seek martyrdom as friend Holmes infers. On the contrary, their chosen work feeds the cravings of a sympathetic nature that will give them no peace only as they t-y to alleviate the hard conditions around them.

What Anarchist but associates freely with conservatives and others in so far as he is allowed? But what does our friend mean when he adds, "even in the churches and in politics"? Does that signify that we should do propaganda work for priest and politician, skirmish votes at so much an hour for the latter, or help sending him to congress, only to find out later, when his material assistence and public influence is n eded to help our cause, that he is unable to do so, for the reason he is "in politics," and must devote all his energy to holding his job?

If we turn to assist the priest, and "teach a Sunday school class of young ladies in the most orthodox church in town," as Comrade Byington boasts of doing, we will waste our time and theirs by teaching them "that the blood of the lamb cleaneth from all sin," and that three is one, and that God was killed so dead, he didn't exist for three days. Or shall we tell them our honest thoughts and get fired from the temple. "A bull in a China shop" would not be more out of place, than would be an avowed Anarchist taking part in church work.

In all seriousness, is the influence that priests and politicians exercise over their flocks, worth pandering to? The spirit that animates the followers of these vampires of society is one of blind and unreasoning faith. The spirit that can alone add strength to the Anarchist movement, must be that of self-reliant, independent thought; it can be neither hurried, driven or bought, but must be cultivated. It is probably true from the standpoint of worldly advantage, that the "open warfare policy" of Wm. Holmes was a "detriment" to him; but on the other hand, his sincere, manly, honest life, and earnest convictions, have been an inspiration to his comrades, and a source of strength to the cause he has devoted so many years to.

When I see the rich and powerful used as a cat's-paw to help the cause of that class who are *robbed*, I shall expect the lamb to lie down by the lion, and not be eaten. Any plan that shall enable our propagandists to *use* the rich and powerful—the Carnegies, Fricks, Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, Goulds and Hannas—as *means* to further our ideal of liberty to *all*, and special privileges to none, will be welcome, but it is well to bear in mind the fact that you cannot "beat a man at his own game," and the rich and the powerful hold their station through the fact that they always *get more* than they give.

In regard to "Anarchist judges," define the meaning of each word, and the amalgamation of these respective definitions is an impossibility. The philosophy of Anarchy and the spirit of the judiciary are uncompromising foes, the direct opposites; between those two forces there can be nothing but war—"war to the knife and the knife to the hilt."

We see how hypocrisy and mental prostitution have ruined the characters of men, originally honest, who used these methods to attain political aims. Is human nature so different in an Anarchist that he would not be corrupted by such practices?

Of the two evils, wage slavery and parasitism, the Anarchist, for the sake of decency and self-respect, let alone consistency, is bound to choose the former as the lesser evil. This course will enable one to follow the good advice of friend Holmes, "live up to our best attainable standard, and invade no man's liberty." Thus fades, in the light of his own words, Holmes' vision of Anarchist judges. KATE AUSTIN.

Caplinger Mills, Mo.

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The number printed on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

VACCINATION.

Editor Free Society,—A few days ago Mr. J. T. Small passed me your paper containing the article on "Compulsory Vaccination Repudiated." I was interested to know that the news of our victory had been heralded, not alone because it throws an honor on the birthplace of American liberty, but also because it will undoubtedly encourage other towns to follow in our footsteps.

The whole discussion appears in the same light to me, as do the old struggles that science and theology waged in the dark ages. On the one hand in this war, is the great mass of people, urged on by many of the medical profession, clinging to their fetich, fearing, if they diminish their reverence for it, that an enraged deity will visit them with a smallpox scourge; and on the other hand, a few individuals who dare to question the efficacy of the great idol—vaccination.

If we go back in the history of science, we find many and weird superstitions, and none were more wild and weird than those that related to disease.

As to evidence in these matters, what shall be taken as a proof of the efficacy of a given procedure? Because the mortality of smallpox has been lessened since the year 1798, shall we ascribe it to vaccination? In an extended report of the council of the British Medical Association, published in the British Medical Journal of March 5, '98, and republished in the Monthly Cyclopedia of Practical Med., March, 1899, it is stated among other things:

1. "The mortality from smallpox is much less now than in pre-vaccination times."

I do not question the statement in the least, for in pre-vaccination times persons were canonized because of their filth, and you will find that certain of the saints were so filthy that it was almost impossible to approach them on account of the odor. And if this was the ideal, of course every one was striving to attain it. Is it any wonder, that smallpox or any disease was fatal, and that in an age characterized by the motto "cleanliness is next to godliness," that the death rate should be diminished?

2. "The greatest diminution in the smallpox mortality is found in the early years of life, in which there is most vaccination."

How easy it is to tack on that last clause. It reminds me of the saying that is told of the little boy, which goes something like this: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, hence the immortality of the soul." But let us see for a moment if there may not be some other cause to which we can ascribe this phenomenon. The science of pediatrics, or the cure of children, is a very new one; in fact, it has been added to the regular course of studies in professional schools during the last five years. Previous to the investigation of this subject, children simply grew up; if they were weakly they died, and if they were strong they survived. This was not only true in years past, but is true now in the lower strata of society. It has been my experience, as a physician, to enter the houses of some of our foreign element and find a baby, five months old, chewing on a cracker and sucking a herring. It is no wonder that under such circumstances a child should die with smallpox or any disease. But times have changed somewhat. The babies of the better classes are being brought up on scientific principles and are stronger, and, as a rule, are not exposed to smallpox, owing to the greater isolation and the recognized danger of the disease.

I wish you to consider the class that are the ones that are most vaccinated and revaccinated. You well know, as did this council, that this class was the great mass of working people, who rely on the family physician, and what he advises they do or have done. The very fact of their being vaccinated, goes to show that they are a careful people, desirous of keeping healthy; and this implies, to extent, cleanliness, improved sanitation, and common sanitary customs and usages. Of course, they are less susceptible to smallpox as well as cholera and other diseases.

They further make the statement that "sanitation cannot account for the facts set forth," and I agree with them. Sanitation cannot explain how the statements in regard to the great value of vaccination are true, but sanitation can account for diminishing mortalities, and for the lessening in frequency of epidemics, and all the other successes that the usurper, vaccination, has claimed. Article 12 of this report declares that "vaccination is very safe." I say openly, that in my opinion any man who signed his name to that report is guilty of what he knows to be an out and out falsehood. The men that made that report were experienced physicians, many are the graduates and ex-officers of the largest clinics in the world's largest city, and surely they have seen cases of Cellulitis, Septicæmia, Erysipelas, Impetigo, which have been the sequence of vaccination.

In this same journal from which I am taking this report, is cited a case in which death followed from a secondary infection of the wound, and there are many such cases. Osler says he seen three cases of Erysipelas that followed vaccination, which proved fatal. With these facts before them, this board of men have dared to state to an intelligent public that "vaccination is *very* safe." It is a good deal like the church council declaring that the world did not move.

There is no absurdity that you cannot bring facts to prove; if you doubt it, read of the wonderful cures effected by the "divine healers," "Christian scientists," "mediums;" think of the millions that at the shrine of our own lady at Laurdes have left their ailments; or that Job's tears will help the baby cut his teeth, etc.

Again the medical profession is praising vaccination, but, after all, do they believe in it? Ask your doctor if he has himself vaccinated every seven years? Does he vaccinate his wife and children every seven years? If he doesn't, then he is not consistent with his utterances.

C. BURTON CONNER, M. D.

Provincetown, Mass.

The Letter-Box.

A. B., Haverhill, Mass.—As the alderman is a Socialist and believes in party rule, he ought to take his own medicine and submit to the dictum of his constituents. His experience will probably convince him that there is no greater tyrant than the masses. Heaven beware us of a universal democracy!

P. D., Kansas City, Mo.—Certainly; she will be glad to receive suggestions regarding the subjects to be discussed at the congress. Her address is: Emma Goldman, care of Les Temps Nouveaux, 140, rue Mouffetard, Paris, France.

G. J. W., Colorado Springs, Colo.—We shall be much pleased to receive *all* the names and addresses of your radical friends and acquaintances, even if you are not able to pay for the papers that will be sent to them as sample copies. Some seed may find fertile soil.

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